A DIALOGVE
betwene a knyght
and a clerke,
concer-
nynge the power ſpi-
ritual and tem-
porall.




BIBLIOTHECA · BODLEIANA

¶ The clerke begynneth to speke on this wyse sayenge.

CLERICVS.



Wounder / syr noble knyghte / that in fewe dayes / tymes be changed / ryght is buryed / lawes be ouerturned, and statutes be trodde vnder foote.

MILES. Those wordes passe my capacite / I am a lewde man: and thoughe I wente to schoole in my chyldehode, yet gotte I not so profounde lernynge / that those youre wordes can of me be vnderstande. And therfore worshypfull clerke, if ye desyre to haue communication with me, ye must vse a more homely & playner fascion of spekyng. CLE. I haue sene in my time / that kinges / princis / and all other nobles, haue had the churche in right great worshyp: and nowe I se the contrary / the churche is made a pray to you

all/ and many thynges are challenged of vs, and nothynge is gyuen vs: Jf we gyue not oure goodes/ they be taken frome vs by stronge hande. Our good and catalle/ is distroyde/ our lawes and fredome be not holden, but dispysed and withsayde. MILES. J can not lyghtly beleue, that the kynge (of whose counsayle they of the clergie be) wyl deale vniustly with you/ nother distroye your lawe. CLERI. yea trewely agaynst all lawe, we suffre innumerable wronges. MILES. J wolde fayne knowe what ye calle lawe. CLERI. J calle lawe the statutes and ordinances of bysshops of Rome, & decrees of holy fathers. MILES. What euer they ordeyne or other haue ordeyned in tyme past of temporaltie/ may well be lawe to you/ but not to vs. For no man hath power to ordeyne statutes of thynges, ouer the whiche he hathe no lorde-

lordeshyp. As the kyng of Fraunce may ordeyne no statutes vppon the empyre, nother the emperour vpon the kynge of Englande. And lykewyse as Pryncis of the worlde maye ordeyne no statutes of youre spiritualtie, ouer the whiche they haue no power: no moreye maye ordeyne no statutes of theyr temporalties/ouer the which ye haue nother power nor auctoritie. Wherfore it is a thynge in vayne/ what euer ye ordeyn of temporal thynges, ouer whiche ye haue of god resceiued no power. And therfore but late I lough well faste, whan I harde that Poope Boniface the. viij. had made a newe statute, that he hym selfe shulde be aboue all seculer lordes/princis, kinges, and emperours, and aboue all kyngedomes, & make lawe vppon all thynges: and that hym nedeth nought but wryte/ for all thynges shall be his, whan he

hath wryten: and so all thyng shall be yours. For to make a statute, his statute is nought elles, but to wyll that the decree be holden and kepte, and ordeyne and whote that it be holden. If he woll haue my castell, my towne / my selde, my money, or any other suche thynges: hym nedeth nought, but wyll it, and write it, and make a decree / and whote that it be holden / and whan that is done, he hath ryght to al such thynges. Now good clerke / thou wotest well, howe worthy this iape is to be scorned. CLE. Syr knight ye speke sharpely, slyly, and wyely ynough: all your talkyng and meanynge is (as fer as I perceyue) that the pope hath no power to ordeyne and make statutes of your temporalties: For ye knowe not, that he hath lordeshyp, power, and auctoritie vppon your temporalties.
Though we wolde proue it by our
lawe

lawe / and by decrees wryten ye accompte them for nought. For ye wene that Peter had no lordeshyp ne power ouer temporalte / but by suche lawe wryten. But if thou wilt be a trewe christen man / and of ryght beleue, thou shalte not deny, but that Christ is lord of al thinges. To hym it was sayde in the sauter boke: Aske of me & I shall giue nations, to thyn heritage, and all the world about to thy possessiō. psal.2. Psal.2.

And also of hym it is wrytten, the fyrst pistill to Timothe the.vi.chapiter / that he is kynge of kynges, and lorde of lordes. These be not ours, but goddes owne wordes: nor we wrote them not, but god sente them, and the holy goost spake them. 1.Tim.2. Apoc.17. & 19.

And who douteth / whether he may ordeyne and make statutes, whome he knoweth to be lorde of all thynges? MILES. I withsay not the maiestie / lordeshyp, and myght of

our lorde god: for he maye not be withsayde on no maner wyse. But if it may be shewed by holy writte, that the pope is lorde of all temporalties: than kynges & princis muste nedes be subiecte to the poope, as well in temporaltie as spiritualtie.

CLE. That may be shewed lyghtly/ by the auctoritees that be a lytell rather rehersed. The fayth of holy churche holdeth, that Peter the apostell was ordeined Christis ful vicare for hym selfe and for his successours. And he that is fulle vicare, may do the same that his lord may, whan he is made vicar with ful power, withoute any withdrawynge of power. Than if ye can not deny, but that Christe, that is lorde of heuen and of erthe/ may ordeyne and make statutes of your temporalties: how can ye/ for shame deny Christis vicare to haue the same power?

MILES. I haue hard of holy and deuout

deuout men, that we shuld distingue two dyuers tymes of Christe: one of his humilite/ and an other of his power and maiestie. The tyme of his humilytie was from the tyme that he toke fleshe and blode, vnto his passion: the tyme of his power and maiestie, was and is after his Resurrection, whan he said: All power is yeue to me in heuen and in erthe/ Mat. vlt. Peter was ordeyned Christis vicare for the state of his humilite/ and not for the state of his blysse and maiestie: but to folowe hym in doynge those thynges, whiche Christe in humilite dydde here in erth: for those thynges are necessary for vs. Ergo Christ commytted thylke power to his vicare, whiche he as a man mortall exercysed/ and not that power, whiche after his glorification he resceyued. And for to proue this by holy wrytte, I take wytnes of Christe and holy writte/ Mat. vlt.

as thou deste. Lo Christe sayde to Pilate: My kyngedome is nat of this worlde,/ Jo.18. Also he saith/ he came not to be serued, but to serue other men, Matt. 20. This wytnes is so manifeste, that it maye confounde a man, resiste he neuer so moche/ and all to frusshe his necke/ be it neuer so stysse. And it is wrytten Luc.12. howe one said to Christ: Mayster say to my brother/ that he departe herytage with me. Lo whom Christ answered and sayde: Manne/ who hathe ordeyned me iudge or deparier betwene you? Lo thou hereste openly, that Christ was nat iudge nor dealer ouer temporaltees. Ergo in that state of dispensation taken on hym, he neyther had nor desyred temporalle kyngedome. But whan the people, that he hadde fedde/ wolde haue made hym kynge/ he fledde from them Jon.6. Also in Peters commission

he

he yafe hym not the keyes of the kyngdome of erth/ but the keyes of the kyngedome of heuen. Also it is euydent and playne/ that the byſſhoppes of the Hebrewes were ſubiectes to kynges, and the kynges depoſed the byſſhoppes: but god forbydde, that they ſhulde ſo nowe. And for to knowe/ that Peter was Chriſtis vycar in godly kyngedome of ſoules/ and not in temporalle lordeſhyppe of caſtelles and of landes: take hede what Paule the appoſtelle ſaythe wrytynge to the Hebrewes. Euerye byſſhoppe (ſaythe he) is take of men/and ordeyned for men in thynges that belonge to god, not to gouerne erthely thynges, but to offre gyftes and ſacrifices for ſynne. That the byſſhoppe is made ruler in thoſe thinges that long to god, thou maiſt perceyue by the wordes of ſaynte Paule wrytynge to Timothe/ the. 2. Heb. 5.

piſtell

pistel, 7. 2. chap. where he saith: No man that trauayleth in knyghthode to godward, medleth him in secular busynesses. Than hit is sothe, that Christe neyther exercised worldely kyngedome, nor commytted hit to Peter. And in the actes of the apostels the. 6. chaptre, Peter saythe: It is not ryghtfull that we leue the worde of god, 7 serue meate bourdes, that is to saye, to dispose temporall thynges.

¶ And all though some temporall thinges may be disposed bi bishops: yet neuertheles it is playne and euident, that byssshoppes shulde not be occupied in gouernaunce of myghte and lordshyppes of this worlde. Therfore syr clerke, the auctorities that thou haste layde for thy partie, Aske of me, and I shall gyue to the, nations to thyn heritage, and all the world about, to thy possession. And that he is kynge of kynges. 7c. This

Psal. 2.

1. Tim. 2.

is

is not vnderstond for the fyrst estate but for the seconde. In the whiche fyrste estate it is playne, that Christe exercised no tẽporall power/but put it clene away from him, & vsed only that / that longed to the gouernáce of our saluation: And in that maner of doynge he made Peter his vicar/ whom he nother made knyght nor crowned kynge: but ordeyned hym to be a preest and by sshoppe. And if ye woll yet stryue, that Christis vycare shulde haue that power in temporaltie, that Christe had after his resurrection in heuen, and vsed not here in erthe / your stryfe shall not turne you to worshipp at length. For it is euident to euery faythfull man, that if god shuld commande hym to gyue his money / his felde, or his vineyarde to any other man, without any prouision or reasonable request / and without any expresse studieng, he ought forth with to obey. Apoc. 17. & 19.

Wher-

Wherfore if ye wyll contende / that the pope hath the same power / than of necessite ye must graunt also / that the pope maye take from you / and from vs / all the goodes that ye and we haue / and gyue them all / to whiche of his neuewes or cousyns, that he wyll, and tell no cause why: and also he may take away from princis and kynges, principalitees and kyngedomes at his owne wylle / and gyue them there as hym lykethe. But take hede how wrongfully that were done, and demeth your owne selfe, howe that wolde myslike you / if he dydde so to you. If that very reason constrayne you to forsake your folysshe argumente, the poope also shall be constrayned to gyue backe. For it is sothe, that he, Christis vicare / receyued not so great power in temporaltees / but he receyued onely that power, that Christe in his humilite dayly vsed

and

and taughte. CLERICVS. Wyll ye denye syr knyghte / that holy churche shall not knowe and correcte menne for synnes? MILES. Godde forbydde, For he that wolde denye that / shall denye penaunce and confession. CLERI. If ought be done vnryghtfully, it is synne: and he that hath to do in knowlege of synne, must knowe and also deeme of ryghtefulle and vnrightfull. Therfore syns there is ryghtfull and vnrightfull in busines-ses of temporall matters, of verye consequens the pope ought to rule and deme in temporall causes. MILES. This is a forked argument, whose vanite and sklendernes must be by a like argumét, ouerthrowen. In hangyng vp of theues and other misdoers / that be dampned to the dethe is ryghtfull and vnryghtfull, and also synne. Therfore by-cause of synne, that suche menne

do

doo, shall the Poope deme and be domes man in cause of felonye and of mans dethe? This is a lyght argument, and therfore hit is blowen away with a lyght reason. Nowe syr clerke ye muste shewe, howe ye shulde knowe and deme ryghtfulle and vnryghtefulle. For there is no doubte, but that ryghtful & vnright full in temporaltie shal be demed by lawes, that men haue made of temporaltie. But ye mote take hede all aboute, what longeth to the cause, that shalbe demed. Than it is soth, that he that maketh the lawe, hath power to knowe and to deme right full and vnrightful, and to expowne and declare, and to tell the meanyng of the lawe, and to kepe the lawe, and to gouerne reasonnably by the lawe. Nowe if ye wyll be as great maysters as he, in knowlege and demynge of temporaltie, and stryue with hym in knowlege and demyng

of rightfull and vnrightful/in what that longeth to temporaltie, thanne care ye with an oxe and asse agaynst your holy writte. And whan the prince sayth, this is ryghtfull / the byssshop sayth/ this is vnryghtfull: than is fulfylled the prophecy of Abacuc: Ryghtful dome is made/and withsayenge is stronger, throughe the whiche the lawe is torne and rent/& the rightful dome cometh not to ende. For truely that is not to do ryghtfull dome and iustyce in erthe. Abac.1.
Nowe I shall shewe you, after the apostelle Paule where your knowlege and dome shall begynne. The prince by his lawes shal deme right and wronge/ and euery man shall be redy at his commandement/as he is bounde: and shall be obediente to hym. Nowe if any man waxe stubborne, and wyll not be obedient to the pryncis hestes, nor the prynce (whose office is to deme and iudge)

is not able to resyste and compell hym: than begynneth your knowcelege and your dome. For youre monitions shal refraine and chastice hym / accordynge as saynte Paule
Tit. 3. sayth to Titus the. 3. chap. Admonyshe and warne them, that they be subiectes to princis and high powers. And also wrytynge vnto
Ro. 13. the Romayns the thyrtene chapiter he sayth on this wyse: Euerye soule shall be subiecte to the hyghe powers. Whan he sayth euery soule, it semeth than, none is excepted. Also where as misdoynges and synfull dedes are manifest and open / as robbery, theste, and suche lyke, nor ther is none that can or wyl redresse these offences: I deny not, but that ye shall and may vse your power in suche cases, but not of ryghtfull or vnrightfull: for it falleth not for you to knowe and deme therof, nor to entermeddle therwith. But whan

it is

it is openly knowen by ſentence and dome of the lawe, or els by playne euidence and knowlege of the treſpace that nedeth none other wytneſſe nor proues: than may it longe to you in maner and forme, as hit is ſayde before.

¶ And if ye woll nedes knowe and deme in ſuche cauſes, bycauſe that wronge and ſynne be lynked to gether: than there nedeth nought els, but ſhutte vp the gates of princis, and ſpeke naughte of theyr lawes and ſtatutes, but ſpeke of the lawes of byſhops all onely. It dothe belonge to you to knowe and to deme in cauſe of matrimony and of wedlocke, I pray you / wyll ye therfore ſay, that it foloweth / that ye ſhall knowe and deme af al that longeth therto for the knyttyng of the dede? Lo I go into your countreye for to aſke heritage in my wyfes name: for ſhe is heyre therof. ye ſee, that by

reason of matrimonye it longeth to me to requyre this heritage: shall I therfore plede before you for my wyfes heritage, and telle my tale in this maner: I Roberte at Stile aske for my wyfe a duchery / in the name of dowerye, and so forthe? Whiche ought to be pleded before the kyng / and not before the bysshoppe. yea I saye vnto you all clerkes forbyddynge you, that you entermeddell you not of dome and knowlege of dowere / agaynst god and ryghtousnes. For the behest of dowery is very couenant of temporaltie, and shall be proued or disproued / by proues or disproues, of the kynges lawes. And for so moch as ye vsurp and take vpon you that, that belongeth vnto other, it is ryghte mete, that ye suffre as ye do.

¶ Now thus it appereth / that it is but a iape and a vanite / of suche maner of onynge of thynges to feyne a knyt-

knyttynge to gethers in dome and in knowlege of causes. For to the confoundynge of all those reasons (that ye make) the only wordes are suffycient, that I afore recyted to you oute of the gospelle of Luke, Luc. 12. where our lorde Jesu sayth: O man who hath ordeyned me domesman or dealer betwene you? Here Christ sheweth vs openly, that it longed not to hym to deme and deale heritage, by the power that he vsed in that that he was man shapen for to dye. CLERI. Can ye denay, but that the temporaltics ought to obey and be seruiseable to the spiritualtie? If ye can not, ye must nedes graunt, that the temporaltie must nedes be subiect to the spiritualtie: & that the spirituall power oughte to rule the temporall. MILES. Sothely the temporaltie shall serue the spiritualtie in this case: they are bounde to fynde them, that worshyp and serue

god, all that is necessary for them. For so do all nations (as it were by way of kynde) honour and ministre vnto thē liuelod & other necessaries/ that worshyp god/ & ministre sacramentes, and such as longeth to god. For in the lawes that our lord gaue to Moyses, the pharisens and prestes were largely prouided for: but yet that law did not ordeyn for them any temporall kyngedome or lordeshyp.

1.Cor. 9. And the apostell to the Corinthees saythe: If we haue sowen thynges spirituall amonge you, it is no great thing if we repe carnall? But if thou wylte witte/ what maner lordshyp Christe ordeyned for his seruauntes/ that sowe spirituall sedes: take of the wordes of Christe and of the apostelle Paule/ as they folowe in order. For Christe to his disciples/ sente forthe to preache, sayde: The

Mat. 10. Luc. 10. 1. Tim. 5. worke man is worthye his meate: and, The worke man is worthy his

mede

mede. And Paule of hym selfe and other apostels sayth. 1. Cor. 9. Who trauaylleth in knyghtchoode vpon his owne coste? As who sayth: no man. And in Moyses lawe it is written. Deut. 25. Thou shalte not bynde the oxe mouthe that threshseth. Lo to whom doth Christe & his apostell Paule lyken you? To workmen, to hyredmen & oxen, and not to kinges. I pray you, be worke men and hyred men, lordes of thynges? Than it semeth, that temporaltyes are graunted you to helpe of your lyuynge, and for charge of spirituall administration, and not to lordeshyp. And of the spirituall it is wrytten in Moyses lawe, there ye be lykened to an oxe, that threshseth, to the whiche it is ynough to take his meate, though he fyll al the berne with his trauayle. And for that ye saye, that spirituall power ruleth and gouerneth the temporal-

1. Cor. 9.

Deut. 15.

tie/ that is aunſwered you afore by the apoſtell Paule/ where he ſayth: Euery byſſhop is taken of men, and
Heb 5. ordeyned for men in that that longeth to god/ and in that the ſpirituall power ſhall rule and gouerne vs, and not in that that longeth to the worlde: for it longeth nat to holye churche to deeme in that that is outwarde.

¶ And if ye yet ſtriue/ that the pope is abouc all other alſo in temporaltie, ye falle into well great ſkornes. For if the poope (whan he is made pope) ſhuld be made lorde ouer all: than by the ſame ſkylle a byſſhoppe (whan he is made byſſhop) is made lorde of all the countrey of his byſſhoprike/ and my prieſt ſhall be lorde ouer my caſtelle, and be my lorde. For as the power of the pope is in all, ſo is the power of theſe in that party, where they rule. Wherfore leaue this foly ſſhenes/ the which is

laughed

laughed and mocked atte of euerye man, and that is, with so many reasones and auctorityes of scripture confounded. Also we haue lerned in the olde testament, that kynges ordeyned who shulde be prieſtes: but prieſtes dyd not ordeyne, who shuld be kynges. And prieſtes were not worshypped of kynges: but kynges and pryncis were worshypped of prieſtes and prophetes, and myghte calle them and commaunde them to do what pleased the kynges. And in the same olde testamente the kynges dyd correcte the prieſtes, and vndertoke, and blamed them, whan they erred in gouernaunce of temporaltie. CLE. J maruayle that ye say, that kynges vndertoke and blamed the bysshop in gouernáce of temporaltie. MILES. ye awake the slepynge dogge, and dryue me to speake otherwyse than J thoughte before to do. CLERI. Lette the

houndе awake and barke. MILES. For as moche as ye can not be contente, and pacyently (to your profite) ſuffre the princis, I fere me, that after due and iuſte barkynge, ye ſhall fele bytynge. CLERI. What haue princis and kynges to do with gouernance of our temporaltie, letте them take theyrs / and ſuffre vs in peace with oures? MILES. Syr the princis muſte in any wyſe haue to do therwith. I praye you, oughte nat we aboue all thynges / to mynde the helthe of our ſoules? oughte not we to ſee / that the wylles of our fore fathers be fulfylled? Falleth it not to you to pray for our fore fathers / that be paſſed out of this lyfe? And dydde not our forefathers gyue you oure temporalties ryghte plentyfullye / to the entente / that ye ſhulde praye for them, and ſpende it all to gether to the pleaſure and honour of god?

and

and ye do nothyng so: but ye spende away your temporaltie in synfulle dedes and vanite, the whiche temporaltie ye shulde dispende in warkes of charite, and in almes dedes to poore men and nedy. Were it not nedefulle, that they that be deed shulde be holpe/ and they that be alyue saued by dedes of mercye? For the whiche oure fore fathers haue gyuen you great and huge domunions. And whan ye apply them to your owne vse and superfluously consume them, and contrary to their intente/ that were the gyuers/ and also of the resceyuers/ lasshe them out to an yll vse: do ye not dammably hurte and hynderaunce, borne to them that be alyue/ and also to them that be deed? ye recke not for honestye, no nor for your owne lawe, nor for dedes of mercye and charite, but in foly and bobance and in lykynge of this worlde, ye dispende

pende al that was gyuen you for an holy entent. Shal not his wages be stopped / that wyll not doo dedes of knyghthode. De that holdeth of an nother, and dothe not his due office and seruice, he shall lose and forgoo his fee. And for to make an ende of this question, and to put you to sylence, I shall shewe you that, that shall make you sorye, and gladde to synde the mene to set a remedy. Redeth in holy wrytte. 2. Parali. ca. 14. There it is wrytten of kynge Joas, that he dydde that that good was and pleasynge to oure lorde alle the dayes of Joidas the preeste. And of the same kynge we rede. iiij. Regum. 12. Kynge Joas called Joida the bysshoppe / and also the prestes, and to them he sayd: why repayre ye not the couerynge of the temple? Loke therfore that ye take no more money of the people by your owne ordynaunce / but applye it to the instau-

ſtauration of the temple / and of goddes houſe. And thus the prceſtes were forbydden to take any more money of the people. Wherfore thou ſeeſt / that kynge Joas was preyſed of our lord, for that he toke hede / that the offrynges ſhulde be ſpended to goddes worſhyppe / that is to ſaye, to the inſtauration of the temple / accordynge to the holye entente of them that gaue ſuche thynges. God preyſethe this kynge Joas / for to ſhewe and leaue vnto vs enſaumple, that the ſayde kynge, in his ſoo doynge, dydde not offende / for ſo moche as he dydde hit not for any couetouſneſſe, but of goddelye zeale, not of ambition, but of deuoute relygyon. And the kynge / to the entente to eſchewe yuelle ſuſpeccion he wolde haue the byſſhoppe with hym to beare wytneſſe / as foloweth. And whanne he ſawe

to

to moche moneye in the Treasaurye / the kynges wryter and the bysshoppe wente vppe in to the Treasaurye, and poured oute and tolde the money / that was founde in goddes house / and they gaue hit after the noumbre and weyghte in to theyr handes / that were soureyours of the masonrye of goddes house. Lo the good intention of the kynge is preysed / that tooke hede / that the goodes of this olde churche shulde be besylye saued, and spente to a good and a holye vse. I knowe well it lyketh not you to here these wordes, and yet neuer the lesse I speke not but wordes of holy writte. It is sayde to you before / that ye haue receyued all suche lordeshyppes and riches to the helpe of youre lyfe, and as the wages of holy chiualry / and to the intent to haue cloth and foode: with
1. Tim. 6. whiche two the apostell sayth, he

helde hym payde: and all the ouer plus beſyde clothe and foode, ye ought to ſpende in dedes of mercye & pitie, as on poore people that haue nede, and on ſuche as be ſycke and diſeaſed, and oppreſſed with miſery. And if ye do not ſo, than muſte we haue to do therwith: for than it falleth to vs to take hede of your temporaltie, that ye begyle not and deceyue the quycke and the dced.

CLE. This kynge Joas toke not the goodes and cattell to his owne vſe, but he beſtowed them on holye churches vſe. But nowe a dayes ye take our goodes, whiche ye ſpende not to the vſe of holy churche, but on your buſy and vnruly ſouldiors, and on ſhippes and ingins of warre. And therfore the enſaumple that ye bryngе forthe, is not agaynſt vs, nor agaynſt our warkes and dedes: but ye wold therby colour your violéce and wronge. MI. Alway to your owne

owne harme ye kycke agaynſte the pricke of kynges. It is not greuous to you, that your couſins and kynſmen take to them of holy churches goodes and cattelles, and ſomtyme other perſons, that be not honeſt, to the ſklaunder of you, and of all the people that be vnder you: and ye be full venomous through your owne yuell enſample of lyuynge. This ye ſuffre, the whiche may be cauſe of goddes wrath vpon the kynge, and vpon all the realme, the whiche reckleſly ſuffreth you ſo frowardly to worke agaynſt almyghty god. But to you it ſemeth a greuous wronge, and in no wyſe to be ſuffered, that the kyng aſketh mekely of you, and thanketh you for it, as for a thynge graciouſly granted: and yet he doth not ſpende hit to his owne vſe, but for your ſaufegarde, and in the defence of holy churche, and of your goodes and cattell. CLERICVS.

Alas

Alas wo is me wretched man, ye tere & hale away my flesshe and my skynne, and that ye calle saufgarde.
MILES. I praye you lette the be your noyse and your grutchynge / and harkeneth paciently. Consyder your neyghbours about you, that be many in londe, whiche wantyng, wherwith to lyue, gape stylle after your goodes. If the kynges power faylled, what reste shulde ye haue? wolde not the gentyll men / suche as be nedy, and suche as prodigally haue spende away they: substance, whanne they haue consumed they: owne, wol not they turne to yours, and waste and distroye all that ye haue? Therfore the kynges strength is to you in stede of a stronge walle. And ye wotte very welle, that the kynges peace is youre peace: and the kynges saufegarde is your saufe garde. For if the kynges power wanted / or elles were withdrawen

from you: than (as your ſynnes aſ-
keth) they that commune with you
now, and they that wayte vpon you
nowe, wold dyſtroy/waſte, and con
ſume your goodes, and compell you
to be theyr thralles. And if ye wold
not, all that ye haue were vtterlye
loſte. Nowe moche than wolde ye
paye for to haue the kynges ſuccour
his helpe and defence/as ye had be-
fore? Than thus ye ſe and perceyue
manyfeſtlye/that whan ye gyue a
lyttell portion to the kynge, you bye
therwith your owne ſafegarde/and
therby ye ſaue to youre ſelfe/youre
goodes and your cattals, that ſhuld
be diſtroyde by your ennemies, and
by men of ſtraunge londes, ne were
the kynges helpe and his ſuccour.
But as ye haue alway ben vnkynd,
for the goodnes that he hathe done
to you: euen ſo nowe ye playne and
grutche, agaynſte that that is youre
owne profyte. If the kynge fayled
you/

you, wolde not youre ennemyes warre vppon you, and putte you oute of your place, and out of your lande, and take frome you all that ye haue, and leue you poore, naked, and bare? and so stryken with terrible drede, wolde ye not put your selfe to flyghte, and wander ye forced not whyther? But and kynges and princis, at theyr owne costes, and to theyr great peryll and daunger of theyr lyfes, be holden to defende you: and you to reste vnder theyr wynges, and to eate & drynke with great solace and myrthe, and to lye in softe and delicate beddes, and sikerly to slepe, than it semethe, that ye wolde meane, that onely ye be verye lordes, and kynges and princis be of bonde condicion, and vnto you seruantes and thralles.

If reste be graunted to men of the churche, it is no great thynge, if the ryches be reserued for vs of the lay

fee. This is an harde thyng e/ saye ye, but ye wyll not reste, tylle ye be (as ye are wont) conuicted and also confoũded by holy scripture: ageinst the whiche ye can not resiste. For of Joas the kynge (of whome we spake before) hit is wrytten in the. 4. boke of kynges, the. 12. chaptre. and in the seconde booke of Parali. the. 24. chapyter thus: Wherfore Joas the kynge of Juda tooke all that was halowed/ the which thinges Joram & Ochozias his fathers/ kynges of Juda had halowed, and whiche thynges he hym selfe hadde offered vppe/ and all the syluer that he coude fynde in the treasaurye of the lorde, and Palaice of the kynge/ and sente it to Hazael/ the kynge of Syrie, and he departed from Jerusalem. Lo here thou mayst plainly see, that for to paye the peoples raunsomme, he toke those thynges oute of the temple/ not withstandynge

dynge he ſpared not the kynges palayce / whan he toke thoſe thynges out of the temple.

¶ Alſo in the. 4. boke of kynges, cap. 18. it is thus redde of the holy kynge Ezechias. The ſame ſeaſon Ezechias braake the gates of the temple of the lorde / and toke the plates of golde / that he hym ſelfe had there ſtycked vppe, and gaue them to the kynge of Aſſiriens.

¶ And if thou woldeſt ſaye, that Ezechias dyd amyſſe, I aunſwere as it is ſayde ſecundo Paralipo. cap. 32. Ezechias is not blamed for any of all his workes, that he dyd, but onely for the meſſage of the princis of Babylon. Thanne who ſhall dampne hym / the whiche holye wrytte preyſethe in all his dedes? If he erre, not vnderſtandynge the ſotheneſſe and the veritie of holye wrytte / wherfore than ſtryue you agaynſte kynges and princis?

It is red secundo Machab. quinto. Godde chose not the people for the place / but the place for the people.

Therfore the churche of lyme and stone shuld not be spared / whan the chrysten people be in perylle. The which thynge the holy kynge Ezechiel and Joseph vnderstode and truly dyd fulfyll. If your goodes be holy churches goodes / and the people is a great parte of holy church: shal not than holy churches goodes skyl fully be spended for the succour and saufegarde of the people? And so it folowcth / that it longethe to the ghostlyche of holy churche. And our lorde saythe, Matthei duodesimo. I tell you / this is more than the temple. For it is no doubt the ghostly temple, that is mankynde, is more worth than the temple that is made of lyme and stone.

Therfore a mylde and a prudente kynge mote by these wordes knowe

the wylle of all myghty god: and hym nedeth not to seke auctorite of other. Nor the temple of lyme and stone / nor the thynges dedicated therin/shulde not be spared/ to wyn peace and saufegarde to the people, that is in perill. Nor we shuld not smyle (after a flaterynge facion) at the superfluite of the churche/ but se that the great multitude of christen people be holpe and succoured in theyr nede. And though the kynge dealeth gratiously with you / and goodly gouerneth you alway/yet ye be not ashamed to withsay hym in that that he may laufully do by the lawe of god almyghty, and wyll not with your good wyll therto assent. But take hede and beware by the wordes of Salomon: The kynges wrathe is the messanger of deathe. CLE. If those thynges that are ones gyuen to god, may be withdrawen & taken away agayne:

than all vowes may be made voyde
& fordone. MI. That that I haue
sayd is not to withdrawe and take
away gyftes, that are gyuen to all-
myghty god: but to tourne and ap-
ply those gyftes to suche vse, for the
whiche they were fyrste gyuen.
For those gyftes that are gyuen to
god/ the very same gyftes are dedi-
cated to holy and charitable vses.
And what thynge can be more holy
thanne the sauation of christen peo-
ple? And what is more precious
vnto oure lorde/ thanne to defende
and sauely kepe the christen people
from the inuasiō of theyr ennemies,
theues & murtherers/ & to bye peace
to the true and faythfull subiectes?
Therfore whan the goodes of the
churche be spent on this wyse/ than
are they bestowed to suche vse/ for
the whiche they were fyrst dedicate
and gyuen. CLERI. If ye take
you to holy wryt, why do ye with-
saye

saye and breake our priuileges and fredomes: whiche lybertyes we haue by holy wrytte? For our lorde Matt.17. sayde vnto Peter: Howe semeth hit vnto the Symon, The kynges of the erthe, of whome take they trybute / of theyr owne sonnes, or elles of other? of other sayde Peter. Jesus sayde to hym: Than are the sonnes free. But leste we offende them, goo vnto the see / and caste in a fysshe hooke / and the fyrste fysshe that commeth vppe / open his mouthe / and thou shalte fynde a stater, take that, and gyue it for me and for the. ye se sir knight that the clergie, bonde to the seruice of god, is free in all poyntes. MI. If ye well consider, and vnderstande the gospell aryght / ye may se / that the tribute or dragme was demaunded onely of Christe: And onelye for Christe this answere semeth to be gyuen: For he is the verye sonne

of god, the ſonne of the greatte myghty kynge. And as the kynges ſonne is greatter than the byſhop: ſo is goddes ſonne greatter than the emperour. And ſo that aunſwere was gyuen for Chriſte, and not for you. Neuer the leſſe bycauſe they, that chiefely ſerue the kynge in his preſence, ſhulde not be put to cómon and greuous charges / ſo we grant, that clerkes in theyr owne perſones be free / but not they, that leade theyr lyfes as lewde men, and not as clerkes to the worſhyppe / but to the gyle and fraude of oure lorde / as hit is all day ſene.

But clerkes that folowe Chriſte, as priſtes that ſerue at the aulter, and that are fully gyuen and occupied in the ſeruyce of god, we graunt, that thoſe be free, I ſaye not clerely by the goſpelle: but by cauſe in theyr ſoo doynge hit diſcordethe not from the goſpelle / that fredome is gyuen

them

them by priuileges of princis. For ſith the begynnyng of the churche Paule ad Ro. 13. ſayth: Euery ſoule be ſubiect to the higher powers/ not onely (ſayth he after) for wrathe/ but alſo for conſcience. And after folowynge he ſayth, yelde and paye to all men that is due to them: to whome tribute is due/ pay tribute: to whome cuſtome is due paye cuſtome. Than ye ſe/ that euery ſoule muſte be ſubiecte, beare tribute, and pay cuſtome. But as I haue ſayd/ ye be nowe free in your owne perſon, by priuileges of princis: but ſhal your feldes haue now the ſame freedome? If holy churche bye a felde, that is able to be tylled: ſhall he that hath therof euery yere rent and tribute loſe his rente and trybute? CLE. Our cõmunication nowe is not of rent and tribute, but of exactions. MI. Like as I haue of ſome felde certayne rente: ſo the empe-

emperour of his empire / and the kynge of his kyngdome, may at his owne wyll reyse skylfull tribute for the defence of the common welthe. It is graunted by clere reason / that the common welthe shall be defended at the costes of the commontie: and what so euer parte therof enioyeth this defence / it is most agreenge with rygh t / that he sette to his shulder, and helpe to beare the burthen. Than if possessions be as ryghtfully subiecte to the common charge / as to the yeres rent, he shall be vnder charge / who so euer oweth them, specially if it nedeth for the defence of the comon welthe: for they nede the comon defence, as al other nede. If ye say nay, bycause of prescription and custome, that ye haue of so longe tyme vsed that lybertie: We answere you / In as moche longer / and of olde continuaunce that your fredome and liberty is / by the goodnes

nes and liberall benignite of kynges and princis, so moche the sooner ye shulde be prompte and redye with harte and mynde to pay your part, and helpe forwarde, where nede required. For holy wrytte fordoth this prescription / that ye alledge. For from Salomon to Joas / and from Joas to Ezechiell it is redde of no suche doynge, as Ezechiell dydde in tyme of nede. Also many cytyes, that were by priuileges and custome free from payenge of exactions: haue bothe pacientlý payde / and also do pay with good wyll at this day, at their princis pleasure / for the defence of the realme / of the commonaltie, or of persons. If god for vnkyndenes / calleth agayne forgyuenes of synne: beware lest for your rebellyon / that ye deserue no lesse, but also to be further charged, and at the laste to be strypped from al your goodes and power. CLE. Shall

the

the kynge beryue and take awaye from vs, the gracis granted vs by kynges that were his predeceſſours and by other noble princis? And may he fordo the priuileges of bleſſed fathers granted to holy church?

MI. I deny not it is trouthe / great and large priuileges be to you granted by kynges and princis. Therfore ye oughte to vnderſtande and knowe, that what ſo euer the gouernours of the comon welth do / they intended it all to gether for the profite of the common weale / hauynge regarde ſpeciallye thervnto accordynge to this rule: They diſpoſe all thynges in ſuche wyſe, that they preferre the common welthe before theyr owne: whiche in a prince is a thynge moſte glorious, wherof Dauid is example. ij. Regum.

Therfore it is knowē by witnes clere & true, and eke by very reaſon, that they graunte nothyng by theyr writynge,

tynge / that shulde afterwarde be harme and domage to the common weale. But if any priuilege / that is graunted, be founde and knowen hurtefull/and greuous to the cõmon weale, it maye be repelled and fordone in tyme of nede. Therfore it is not to be doubted, but that the hygh princis for the necessary busynes of the realme, maye alter and chaunge (as reason and tyme requireth) the gracis and priuileges to you granted, and by the lawes establyshed. As we rede of the mooste wyse kynge Salomon, in the peyne of theste, chaunged some what of goddes lawe. CLERI. The emperours and not the kynges haue establisshed tho thynges. Therfore nowe syr knyghte / the emperours must gyde the raynes of the lawes. MI. This answer is blasphemous: And eyther (as it semeth) ye are ignorannte of the begynnynge of a

kynge

kyngedome, or els (whiche is moste lykely) ye enuie the hygh estate of the realme. If ye well beholde the actes of greatte Charlemayne, or lysted to rede the auncient approued hystories: ye shall fynde, that the realme of Fraunce is but a portion of the empire/by a iust diuision seperated from it/and was by the space of. 500. yeres egall therto bothe in dignitee and auctoritie. Therfore what so euer priuilege of dignite the empire holdeth in one part/the same holdeth the realme of Fraunce in an other. For whan by brotherne the realme of Fraunce was deuyded from the other parte of the empire: what so euer lawes/power, or dignite the empire opteined and exercysed ouer and vppon the sayde parte thus diuided, the verye selfe power fell to the frenche kynge. And therfore lyke as all thynges conteyned within the boundes of the empire,

is

is well knowen to be subiecte to the empyre: so lykewyse all thynges within the boundes of the realme, be subiecte to the realme. And lyke as the emperour may make lawes ouer al his empire, and to them adde more or diminisshe, as he thinketh good: so maye the kynge of Fraunce, eyther vtterly repelle the emperours lawes, or change which of them hym lyste: or els cleane exilynge and fordoynge these lawes, maye at his pleasure ordeyne and make newe. For whan nede shuld requyre (as it ofte chaunceth) to enact and ordeyne a statute, if the kynge that is the chiefe, coude not do it: thā there is none other that cānc: for there is none aboue hym. And therfore syr clerke refrayne your tongue, and aknowlege the kynge by his royall power to be aboue your lawes, customes, priuileges, and liberties: and that he may by the aduise of

of his nobuls adde or diminysshe/ what so euer he thynke accordynge with equite and reson: and therfore what so euer he changeth in those dayes for the welthe of the realme, take it well in worthe and pacientlye suffre it. For so Paule teachethe you writynge to the Romaynes the xiij. chapter, where he sayth: Who that resisteth the hygh power/ resysteth the ordynaunce of god. And agayne in the ende of the pistell to the Hebrewes he saythe: Obeye ye to your soueraynes/ and humble your selfe to them.

Also kyng Dauid. 1. Reg. 21. vnder Abiathar the prince of the pristis/ in tyme of nede dyd not alonelye eate the breade called panes propositionis, (wherof to eate it was not lefull for any man/ except the prieste) but also gaue the same breade to eate/ to them that were with hym. And it is written Marke the. ij. chap. The

holy

holy day is made for man, and not man for the holy day. And so the lorde is the sonne of man, and also is lorde of the holy day. It is written in the fyrst boke of Parali. the 29. chap. In thy hande is the greatnes and empire of all. It sayth farther there: They honored god, and than the kynge. And it sayth there. They secondely anointed Salomon the sonne of kynge Dauid / they anoynted him in our lorde to be their prince, and Sadoch to be theyr byssshop. And. 2. Parali. 23. it saythe: Nor none other shulde entre in to the house of our lorde but prieستes, and suche of the deacons as ministred, they all onely shulde entre in, bycause they be halowed: and all the residue of the common people shulde kepe the watche of our lorde. The deacons inuironned the kynge aboute, euery man hauynge his armour. And if any other entred in to

the

the temple of the lord he was slayn. They shulde attende vpon the kynge bothe whan he entred in/ and whan he wente out. Also Joada the byssshoppe anoynted hym/ and his children prayde for hym and sayd.

God saue the kynge.

CLE. It draweth faste towarde nyght: to morowe morynyng I wyll answere you to euery thynge.

FINIS.

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CVM PRIVILEGIO.